

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 8017

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP PL (CARTER, JIMMY)
SUBJ: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT: MEETING WITH CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI,
NOVEMBER 4, 1977

1. CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI RECEIVED ME TODAY. PURSUANT TO MY OCTOBER 21 DISCUSSION WITH DR. BRZESINSKI IN WASHINGTON, I ASKED THE CARDINAL WHETHER HE COULD MEET WITH DR. BRZEZINSKI DURING PRESIDENT CARTER'S VISIT TO POLAND. THE CARDINAL SAID HE PLANNED TO BE PRESENT IN ROME FOR THE AUDIENCE OF FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK WITH THE POPE, WHICH IS SCHEDULED AT THE END OF NOVEMBER. HE SAID HE WOULD TRY TO RETURN TO WARSAW IN TIME TO MEET WITH DR. BRZEZINSKI AND PROPOSED THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 2. I SUGGESTED 5 OR 6 P.M. AS A SUITABLE TIME. ALTHOUGH THE CARDINAL WILL BE IN ROME FROM NOVEMBER 8, WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A LIAISON WITH A MEMBER OF HIS STAFF WHO WILL BE ABLE TO HANDLE THE DETAILS OF THE MEETING.

2. IN THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATION, CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI MADE SEVERAL INTERESTING COMMENTS.

3. THE CARDINAL SAID THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE PLEASED AND HONORED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS CHOSEN TO COME TO POLAND. ASKED THAT THE PRESIDENT BE TOLD THAT THE PEOPLE OF POLAND EAGERLY AWAIT HIS ARRIVAL AND WILL RECEIVE HIM WHOLEHEARTEDLY.

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4. THE CARDINAL WENT ON TO TALK ABOUT HIS MEETING OF OCTOBER 29 WITH GIEREK. HE SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH HE HAD MET MANY TIMES WITH BOLESŁAW BIERUT AND SEVERAL TIMES WITH GOMULKA, WITH WHOM HE ONCE HAD A TALK THAT LASTED FOR ALMOST TWELVE HOURS WITHOUT A BREAK, HE HAD NOT MET WITH GIEREK BEFORE OCTOBER 29. IN THE EARLY YEARS OF GIEREK'S LEADERSHIP, HE SAID, HE HAD NOT WANTED

TO COMPLICATE GIEREK'S PROBLEMS WITH THE SOVIETS. THE CARDINAL SAID BOTH PARTIES DESIRED THE RECENT MEETING. GIEREK REALIZED THAT HE HAD TO MEET WITH THE PRIMATE OF POLAND BEFORE THE POPE COULD RECEIVE HIM. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE CHURCH, DESPITE OUTSTANDING GRIEVANCES ABOUT LACK OF ACCESS TO THE PUBLIC MEDIA AND OBSTACLES ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST RELIGIOUS TRAINING, THE MEETING WAS NOT ESSENTIAL. HOWEVER, THE CARDINAL FELT THAT HE SHOULD MEET WITH GIEREK, GIVEN THE DIFFICULT SITUATION THAT EXISTS IN POLAND AND THE DIFFICULT SITUATION IN WHICH GIEREK FINDS HIMSELF. WYSZYNSKI SAID HE FOUND GIEREK TO BE A CULTURED AND COMPETENT MAN, ONE WHO SPEAKS WITHOUT SLOGANS OR PROPAGANDA, ONE WITH WHOM IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE A WORTHWHILE DISCUSSION. GIEREK, HE SAID, HAS A PROGRAM WHICH TRIES TO DEAL WITH POLAND'S NEEDS.

5. CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI SAID THAT THE COOPERATION OF THE CHURCH WITH THE STATE IS NOT EASY FROM A DOCTRINAL POINT OF VIEW. HE SAID THAT COMMUNISM IS DEAD AS A DOCTRINE, AN ANACHRONISM. A COLLECTIVIZED ECONOMY MUST BE UNSUCCESSFUL, HE SAID, BECAUSE COLLECTIVIZATION IN COMMUNIST PRACTICE MEANS BUREAUCRATIZATION: ECONOMIES RUN BY BUREAUCRATS CANNOT BE EFFICIENT, CANNOT MEET THE DAILY NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE. THE MATERIALIST PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNISM IS TOO NARROW. SOCIALIST ETHICS ARE A MYTH, BECAUSE ETHICS MUST EMERGE FROM A SOCIETY OVER TIME; THEY CANNOT BE ARTIFICIALLY IMPOSED FROM ABOVE.

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6. CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI SAID THE GENERAL SITUATION IN POLAND IS BAD. THE DIFFICULTIES POLAND FACES ARE PRIMARILY OF AN ECONOMIC NATURE, HE SAID, BUT POLAND SUFFERS FROM POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND MORAL ILLS AS WELL. AS HE SAID IN HIS RECENT PASTORAL LETTER ON THE PROBLEMS THE AVERAGE POLE HAS TO FACE IN HIS EFFORT TO MAKE ENDS MEET, THE LINES IN THE SHOPS AROUND POLAND HAVE A DEBILITATING EFFECT ON THE PHYSICAL AND PSYCHIC WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE. POLES DID NOT BATTLE THE REGIME IN GDANSK IN DECEMBER OF 1970 OR IN RADOM IN JUNE OF 1976; THEY FOUGHT FOR BREAD. REVOLUTIONS START IN THE QUEUES, THE CARDINAL CONCLUDED.

7. COMMENT: THE CARDINAL SEEMED TO BE IN EXCELLENT SHAPE. HE HAS LOST A LITTLE WEIGHT, BUT LOOKS TRIM AND SEEMS PHYSICALLY AS VIGOROUS AND MENTALLY AS SHARP AS EVER.
DAVIES

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